

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, SP
SUBJECT: SPANISH COMMUNIST RESPONSE TO SOVIET ATTACK.

SUMMARY: THE POST-ELECTORAL SOVIET CRITICISM OF EUROCOMMUNISM,
AND IN PARTICULAR OF SANTIAGO CARRILLO (SPANISH COMMUNIST
SECGEN) HAS DRAWN HEAVY PRESS ATTENTION, BUT HAS FAILED,
AT LEAST FOR THE MOMENT, IN ITS APPARENT OBJECTIVE OF
SHAKING CARRILLO'S LEADERSHIP. END SUMMARY.

1. ONE EXPLANATION OF THE SOVIET DENUNCIATION, FAVORED
BY WELL-INFORMED PERSONS HERE, THEORIZES THAT THE ATTACK
(JUST BEFORE A SCHEDULED PCE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING)
WAS INTENDED TO BRING ABOUT A CRISIS IN THE PCE LEADERSHIP,
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AND CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR A MORE PRO-SOVIET PCE, IF
NEED BE BY SPLITTING THE CURRENT PARTY. CERTAIN REFERENCES
IN THE SOVIET ATTACK TO THE "ASTURIAN COUNTRYSIDE" AND THE
"TRENCHES OF STALINGRAD" ARE CONSIDERED VEILED
APPEALS TO DOLORES IBARRURI, PRO-SOVIET PCE PRESIDENT
(WHO HAILS FROM ASTURIAS AND LOST A SON IN THE TRENCHES OF
STALINGRAD). WE FIND THIS ANALYSIS PERSUASIVE INsofar

AS THE PCE IS CONCERNED.

2. IF SO, THE IMMEDIATE RESULTS HAVE BEEN THE OPPOSITE OF SOVIET HOPES. THE PCE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ADOPTED A COMMUNIQUE JUNE 25, STRONGLY DEFENDING THE EUROCOMMUNIST LINE. THE PARTY LEADERSHIP SHREWDLY ENTRUSTED THE DRAFTING TO A COMMITTEE OF FORMER SOVIET RESIDENTS, INCLUDING IBARRURI. THE RESULTANT DOCUMENT, CHARACTERIZED AS "HISTORIC" BY A PARTY SPOKESMAN, WAS APPROVED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE 130-MEMBER CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WITH ONLY ONE ABSTENTION. PRINCIPAL POINTS FOLLOW:

-- THE "EUROCOMMUNIST WAY" OFFERS THE ONLY VALID ALTERNATIVE FOR ADVANCE TOWARDS SOCIALISM IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES LIKE SPAIN.

-- THE SOVIET ATTACK WAS REALLY "AGAINST THE PCE AS A WHOLE AND AGAINST THE PRINCIPLES WHICH INSPIRE THE POLITICAL ACTION OF ALL THE COMMUNIST PARTIES WHICH ARE ON THE DEMOCRATIC ROAD TO SOCIALISM".

-- THE SUBSTITUTION BY THE USSR OF "ANATHEMA AND EXCOMMUNICATION" FOR SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS IS ONE REASON THAT "ONE COULD NOT PRESENT AS AN IDEAL MODEL OF OUR SOCIALIST SOCIETY THE SO-CALLED TRUE SOCIALISM EXISTING IN COUNTRIES LIKE THE SOVIET UNION".

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-- EUROCOMMUNISM CONCEIVES OF SOCIALISM IS "A REGIME WHEREIN IS REALIZED THE MOST AMPLE UNFURLING OF DEMOCRACY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES".

-- "THE PCE DOES NOT OWE ANY DISCIPLINE TO ANY CENTER OR LEADING PARTY, WORLD OR REGIONAL".

3. FAR FROM LEADING AN ANTI-CARRILLO REVOLT, IBARRURI SAID SEPARATELY THAT, "THE LINE ADOPTED BY THE PARTY IS REALISTIC AND PROPER. AFTER MANY YEARS OF EXPERIENCE, OF STRUGGLE AND DEFAMATIONS, WE SPANISH COMMUNISTS CAN SHOW OUR IDENTITY PUBLICALLY".

4. IN TODAY'S PRESS, SANTIAGO CARRILLO WAS QUOTED AS ACCUSING THE SOVIETS OF ATTACKING ALL EUROCOMMUNISTS, BUT ESPECIALLY THE PCE BECAUSE THEY CONSIDER IT WEAKER. HE CONTEMPTUOUSLY COMPARED HIS SOVIET ATTACKERS TO THE INQUISITION, AND CALLED THEIR STATEMENTS "A STRING OF LIES". CARRILLO CONFIRMED PREVIOUS RUMORS THAT PCE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER MARCELINO CAMACHO (ELECTED FOR MADRID) WOULD PROBABLY RESIGN FROM THE CONGRESS, ATTRIBUTING THIS MOVE TO HIS CONCENTRATION ON UNION ACTIVITY (CAMACHO IS ALSO LEADER OF THE

PCE-INFLUENCED WORKERS' COMMISSIONS). CAMACHO DENIED SEPARATELY THAT HE AND CARRILLO WERE OPPOSED ON THE EURO-COMMUNIST ISSUE, EXPRESSING HIS TOTAL SUPPORT.

5. COMMENT: WE ARE FORCED TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE SOVIET ATTACK ON THE PCE, PRECEDED BY THE CZECH BILAK'S DIATRIBE, AND PRIVATE INDICATIONS IN VARIOUS CHANNELS OF GROWING ORTHODOX HOSTILITY TO THE PCE, IS MEANT FOR A MUCH WIDER AUDIENCE, THOUGH WE LEAVE TO OTHERS MORE EXPERT IN THE MATTER TO SPECULATE ON THE MOTIVATIONS FOR SOVIET BEHAVIOR.

-- DESPITE THEIR HEAVY HANDEDNESS, THE SOVIETS MUST KNOW THAT THIS ATTACK ON CARRILLO CAN SERVE TO FORTIFY HIS POSITION IN THE FACE OF REPORTED INTERNAL PARTY DISCONTENT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IN THE WAKE OF THEIR RELATIVELY MEDIOCRE SHOWING. ONE THEORY HERE, HOWEVER, IS THAT THE SOVIETS REALIZED THIS AND WAITED UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTIONS BECAUSE THEY THOUGHT THE ASSAULT MIGHT INCREASE THE PCE'S VOTE.

-- THE PCE'S REACTION, CLOSE UP RANKS BEHIND CARRILLO, IS NOT SURPRISING GIVEN HIS CONTROL OVER THE PARTY'S LEVERS. NOR SHOULD ONE MAKE MUCH OF LA PASSIONARIA JOINING IN THE COUNTER ATTACK--REPORTS HAVE IT THAT SHE DOES NOT ALWAYS KNOW WHAT SHE IS SIGNING. THE PCE HAS, INDEED, INTERPRETED THIS AS AN ATTACK ON THEIR PUTATIVE BRETHREN IN ITALY AND FRANCE, AND IT WILL BE INTERESTING TO SEE HOW THESE OTHER EUROCOMMUNIST PARTIES REACT.

-- AT ALL EVENTS, THE SOVIET ATTACKS ON THE PCE MARK A QUANTUM JUMP IN THE LEVEL OF ANIMOSITY, AND ARE READ HERE BY OBSERVERS --WHETHER CORRECTLY OR NOT--AS HAVING THE QUALITY OF A RELIGIOUS SCHISM, IN WHICH THE HERETICS MAY HAVE BECOME MORE AN ENEMY THAN THE NON-BELIEVERS. STABLER

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